



# *Political Education Series*

## **THE BUILDING OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY IN THE U.S.S.R.**

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Moscow 1951

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#### PUBLISHER'S NOTE

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## **1. THE RESTORATION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY**

### **Transition to Peaceful Economic Development**

The Soviet people turned to the work of peaceful development under extremely difficult conditions. The country was in a state of ruin as a result of four years of imperialist war and three years of Civil War.

Agriculture was in a state of decline. Huge areas of land were not cultivated and were overgrown with weeds. Gross output was only about one half of the prewar figure. To make matters worse there was a harvest failure in many of the provinces.

Even worse was the plight of industry. The coal and iron ore mines had been wrecked or flooded by the interventionists and Whiteguards. Owing to the shortage of fuel and raw materials most of the factories and mills were at a standstill. The output of large-scale industry in 1920 was a little over one-seventh of prewar. There was a particularly sharp decline in the output of heavy industry. Practically none of the open-hearth and blast furnaces were operating; the total output of pig iron in 1921 was less than 3 per cent of the 1913 figure. Transport was disrupted.

The state of economic ruin severely affected the conditions of the working people. There was a shortage of such prime necessities as bread, fats, meat, footwear, clothing, matches, salt, kerosene and soap.

The class enemies of the proletariat tried to exploit these economic difficulties in their fight against the Soviet power. Counterrevolutionary revolts engineered by them broke out in different parts of the country.

The young Soviet state was confronted with enormous difficulties, but the Bolshevik Party was not deterred by them. With a firm hand the Soviet government suppressed the kulak and Whiteguard revolts and took successful measures to combat economic disruption. The Party called on the workers and peasants to spare no efforts to restore the national economy.

It was necessary to create a firm economic alliance between the working class and the working peasantry to build Socialism. While the war was on, the peasants had delivered to the Soviet state all surplus grain, in keeping with the surplus-appropriation system, to assist the country against the landlords and capitalists. But when the Civil War ended and there was no longer any danger of the landlords returning, the peasants began to express dissatisfaction with having to surrender all their grain surpluses, with the policy of War Communism.

In this period the Bolshevik Party was confronted with the necessity of working out a new line of policy on all questions affecting economic development. The Party and the Soviet government passed from the policy of War Communism to the New Economic Policy (NEP), a policy that met the tasks of peaceful development.

The Tenth Congress of the Party (March 1921), on Lenin's proposal adopted the decision to replace the surplus-appropriation system by a tax in kind. This tax was lighter than the assessments under the surplus-appropriation system and its amount was fixed before the spring sowing. All produce over and above the amount of the tax was entirely at the disposal of the peasant, who was at liberty to sell such surplus. Thus, the New



Economic Policy gave the peasant an economic incentive, induced him to produce more, led to an improvement of agriculture, ensured a durable economic alliance between the working class and the peasantry for the building of Socialism.

State industry was not yet in a position to supply the countryside with the goods it required. In view of this it was necessary to allow private manufacturers to open small businesses, to permit private trade.

Lenin pointed out that freedom of trade would at first lead to a certain revival of capitalism in the country. But the improvement of agriculture and the development of socialist industry on this basis would create the conditions for passing over to a determined offensive against the remnants of capitalism in the country, and for abolishing them.

The enemies of the Party held that NEP meant a renunciation of the gains of the October Revolution, a return to capitalism. Lenin and Stalin exposed these fabrications. The Soviet state retained all the key positions in the national economy: large-scale industry, the means of transport, the banks and the land. It developed state and cooperative trade. The New Economic Policy permitted the development of capitalism within certain bounds, but the Soviet state, relying on its key positions, was preparing the ground for its complete abolition.

Lenin said that NEP meant a life-and-death struggle between capitalism and Socialism. "Who will win?"—that was the question. Stalin described the New Economic Policy as a policy designed to bring about the victory of the socialist elements over the capitalist elements, to destroy classes and lay the foundations of socialist economy.

The building of Socialism was furiously resisted by the class enemies of the proletariat—the capitalists, merchants and kulaks. They had the support of the world

bourgeoisie who did all they could to slander the Soviet state, to weaken it and destroy it at an opportune moment.

The exploiting classes and foreign bourgeois states had their agents inside the Party in the persons of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites. These enemy agents did everything to undermine the Party and deprive it of its leading role in the state, to split its ranks, to deflect the Party from Lenin's path and get the country to take the path of capitalist restoration, and subordination to the imperialist states.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state resolutely foiled the enemy's machinations, and strengthened the political and economic might of the Soviet land. The socialist elements of the national economy developed and grew stronger in a bitter struggle against the capitalist elements. Soon after NEP was introduced, the Party achieved a turn for the better on the economic front. Factories and mills were being restored, transport was working better and agriculture was improving. By developing the exchange of goods between town and countryside the Soviet state strengthened the bond between socialist industry and peasant agriculture, between the working class and the peasantry.

At the height of this creative work a great sorrow befell the Party and all working people: On January 21, 1924, Lenin, the founder and leader of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state, passed away in the village of Gorki, near Moscow. As Lenin was borne to his last resting place, the working people of the whole world paid homage to him in overwhelming sorrow, as to a father and teacher, their best friend and defender.

The enemies hoped that Lenin's death would weaken the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state. But their hopes were not justified. The loss of Lenin caused the working class of the Soviet Union to rally even more solidly around the Party of Lenin. Over two hundred and forty

thousand workers joined the ranks of the Bolshevik Party. They were the foremost section of the working class, the most class conscious and revolutionary, the most intrepid and disciplined. This was known as the Lenin enrollment. It demonstrated how close are our Party's ties with the masses, and how high a place the Leninist Party holds in the hearts of the workers.

The banner of Lenin was raised aloft and carried on by Lenin's distinguished disciple and associate, Stalin, Lenin's worthy successor and great continuator of his immortal work.

At a memorial session of the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets, Stalin made a solemn vow in the name of the Party, in which he said:

"We Communists are people of a special mould. We are made of a special stuff. We are those who form the army of the great proletarian strategist, the army of Comrade Lenin. There is nothing higher than the honour of belonging to this army. There is nothing higher than the title of member of the Party whose founder and leader is Comrade Lenin. . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to hold high and guard the purity of the great title of member of the Party. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfil your behest with credit! . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to guard the unity of our Party as the apple of our eye. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest, too, we will fulfil with credit! . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to guard and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will spare no effort to fulfil this behest, too, with credit! . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to strengthen with all our might the alliance of the

workers and peasants. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest, too, we will fulfil with credit! . . .

"Comrade Lenin untiringly urged upon us the necessity of maintaining the voluntary union of the nations of our country, the necessity for fraternal co-operation between them within the framework of the Union of Republics.

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to consolidate and extend the Union of Republics. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest, too, we will fulfil with credit! . . .

"More than once did Lenin point out to us that the strengthening of the Red Army and the improvement of its condition is one of the most important tasks of our Party. . . . Let us vow then, comrades, that we will spare no effort to strengthen our Red Army and our Red Navy. . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to remain faithful to the principles of the Communist International. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives to strengthen and extend the union of the toilers of the whole world—the Communist International!"

Since then the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Stalin, has steadily advanced along the Lenin path and carried out the behests of the great Lenin.

As a result of the correct and farsighted policy of the Communist Party and the strenuous efforts of the working people, the restoration of the national economy proceeded apace. Important successes were scored in the struggle against private capital. In 1925, state and cooperative production already accounted for 80 per cent of the country's industrial output. Economic progress was accompanied by a big improvement in the conditions of the workers and peasants.

## The Question of the Victory of Socialism in Our Country

In 1925 the restoration of the national economy was approaching completion. But mere economic restoration was not enough for the Land of Soviets, the land building Socialism. It was necessary to advance further. The respite secured by the Soviet state ensured the possibility of further development.

But this raised in all their urgency the following questions: what were to be the perspectives, the character of our development, of our construction, what were the possibilities of building Socialism in our country, though encircled by the capitalist world.

The Trotskyites and other enemies of the people declared that Socialism could not be built in one single country. They claimed that the working class would inevitably clash with the peasantry, and would not be able to lead the peasantry along the path of Socialism and overcome the country's technical and economic backwardness. The Trotskyites sought to undermine the building of Socialism and to restore capitalism in our country.

The Party exposed the hostile policy of the Trotskyites. Basing himself on Lenin's teachings, Comrade Stalin proved that we had everything necessary for the building of a complete socialist society. Stalin developed further Lenin's doctrine about the possibility of building Socialism in one country.

In our country power is in the hands of the working class. The principal means of production—the land, industry, the banks and transport—belong to the state. The working class is able to draw the bulk of the peasantry into the work of socialist construction. The workers and working peasants share the same interests on all vital questions. They are both interested in our country developing along the socialist path. This community of inter-

ests forms the basis of the alliance between workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class.

The working class in alliance with the majority of the peasantry has every possibility of vanquishing the bourgeoisie in the country, of overcoming the country's technical and economic backwardness and of building a complete socialist society.

"... a socialist economic system," said Stalin, "could be and should be built in our country, for we had everything needed for the building of a socialist economic system, for the building of a complete socialist society. In October 1917 the working class had vanquished capitalism *politically*, by establishing its own political dictatorship. Since then the Soviet government had been taking every measure to shatter the economic power of capitalism and to create conditions for the building of a socialist economic system. These measures were: the expropriation of the capitalists and landlords; the conversion of the land, factories, mills, railways and the banks into public property; the adoption of the New Economic Policy; the building up of a state-owned socialist industry and the application of Lenin's cooperative plan. Now the main task was to proceed to build a new, socialist economic system all over the country and thus smash capitalism *economically* as well. All our political work, all our actions must be made to serve this main purpose. The working class could do it, and would do it. The realization of this colossal task must begin with the industrialization of the country. The socialist industrialization of the country was the chief link in the chain; with it the construction of a socialist economic system must begin. Neither the delay of the revolution in the West, nor the partial stabilization of capitalism in the non-Soviet countries could stop our advance—to Socialism."\*

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\* *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). Short Course*, Moscow 1950, pp. 336-37.

Such was the Party's answer to the question—as to whether the victory of Socialism was possible in our country.

But Stalin teaches us that apart from the domestic aspect of the problem of the victory of Socialism there is also the international aspect. As long as our country is encircled by capitalist states, there is always the danger of intervention and attempts to restore capitalism. In order to remove this danger the capitalist encirclement must be destroyed. This is possible only with the victory of the proletarian revolution in at least a few countries. Only then can the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. be considered a complete, final victory.

The doctrine of Lenin and Stalin about the possibility of building Socialism in the U.S.S.R. inspired the working class and all working people with firm confidence in their strength, inspired them in the struggle for Socialism.

Proceeding from this doctrine, the Communist Party, led by Stalin, organized the building of the new socialist economy.

The enemies of Leninism—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Zinovievites and other capitulators and defeatists tried in every way to prevent the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. Socialism could not be built in our country unless the enemies of the Party were smashed. In the fight against the enemies of Leninism, Stalin rallied the Party and mobilized it to continue the struggle for the victory of Socialism in our country.

In this fight against the enemies of Leninism there was definitely welded together, after Lenin's death, that leading core of the Party—consisting of J. V. Stalin, V. M. Molotov, M. I. Kalinin, K. E. Voroshilov, V. V. Kuibyshev, M. V. Frunze, F. E. Dzerzhinsky, L. M. Kagano-  
vich, G. K. Orjonikidze, S. M. Kirov, E. M. Yaroslavsky, A. I. Mikoyan, A. A. Andreyev, N. M. Shvernik, A. A. Zhda-

nov, M. F. Shkiryatov and others—which upheld the great banner of Lenin, rallied the Party to fulfil Lenin's behests, and brought the Soviet people onto the broad road of industrialization and collective agriculture.

The leader of this core and the guiding force of the Party and the state was Comrade Stalin. He inspired the Soviet people with an indomitable faith in the possibility of Socialism being victorious in the U.S.S.R. He guided the titanic work of building a socialist society in our country.



## **2. SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE U.S.S.R.**

### **The Significance of the Socialist Industrialization of the U.S.S.R.**

The leaders of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin and Stalin, not only scientifically proved the possibility of Socialism being victorious in one country. They also indicated the path of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. They proceeded from the necessity first and foremost of industrializing the country. Prerevolutionary Russia was a backward, agrarian country. Two-thirds of her total output was provided by agriculture and only one-third by industry. The heavy industry as the iron and steel, machine-building, chemical, and electro-technical industries, were either nonexistent at the time, or were very poorly developed.

Lenin and Stalin always emphasized that Socialism could not be built without a powerful heavy industry, without up-to-date machinery. Comrade Stalin comprehensively disclosed the importance of socialist industrialization and how it could be effected. He showed that the development of heavy industry was the key to the industrialization of the country.

Heavy industry means equipment and machinery for all other branches of industry, agriculture and transport. Heavy industry means the metal that goes into the making of machines. Heavy industry means coal, oil, peat, gas and electric power.

The Soviet state needed heavy industry in order to supply the entire national economy with machinery. Without our own heavy industry we would have been compelled to continue to buy machinery and equipment abroad. Our country would inevitably have found itself economically dependent on the industrially developed capitalist countries and unable to defend its independence.

Without heavy industry the Soviet state would not have been able to supply the countryside with tractors and other agricultural machines. And without this it would have been impossible to convert small-scale, backward farming into large-scale, advanced socialist farming.

Without heavy industry, without first-class technique it is impossible to raise the productivity of labour to a higher level than under capitalism. And without a high productivity of labour it is impossible to secure an abundance of manufactured goods and foodstuffs.

Without a heavy industry it would have been impossible to equip the Soviet Army with first-class arms, to build up the military might of the country and make it strong enough to beat back the onslaught of the imperialists.

In order to ensure the economic independence of our country and strengthen its power of defence, in order to ensure the victory of Socialism it was necessary to develop a heavy industry, to convert our country from an agrarian into an industrial country, to do away with its age-old technical and economic backwardness.

The Trotskyites, Bukharinites and other enemies of the people tried to prevent the plan of the socialist industrialization of the country from being carried out and to put through their own plan of development, which would have meant converting the Soviet Union into an impotent agrarian appendage of the capitalist system. They wanted to see the Soviet Union weak and defenceless against the surrounding capitalist world, and in

the last analysis defeat the cause of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. It was a treacherous plan for the enslavement of the Soviet Union by the British, American, German and other capitalists.

The Bolshevik Party exposed the traitors and rejected their plan. In his report to the Fourteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.), held in December 1925, Comrade Stalin stated that the general line of the Bolshevik Party was based on the idea of converting our country from an agrarian into an industrial country able by its own efforts to produce the machinery it needed; that we had to make our country economically independent of the capitalist powers.

On the basis of Comrade Stalin's report the Fourteenth Congress of the Party endorsed the historical decision regarding the socialist industrialization of the country.

The Fourteenth Congress has gone down in history as the Congress of Industrialization.

### **The Soviet Method of Industrialization**

The industrialization of the U.S.S.R. was carried out quite differently from the way it has been done in the capitalist countries. The Soviet method of industrialization radically differs from the capitalist method of industrialization.

In the capitalist countries industrialization as a rule started with the development of light industry. It was cheaper to build light industry and easier to make profits out of it. Many scores of years passed before profits from light industry were accumulated and only then was heavy industry developed.

The Communist Party could not take this path. We could not afford to wait for tens of years. The Soviet people had to develop their heavy industry at a rapid

rate. In the sphere of industrial development we were fifty to a hundred years behind the advanced capitalist countries. In 1931 Stalin said we must make good this distance in ten years, and warned that either we did this or the imperialists would crush us. It was necessary rapidly to convert the U.S.S.R. into an advanced industrial power. That is why the Bolshevik Party embarked on the industrialization of the country by first building up heavy industry.

The socialist industrialization of the U.S.S.R., the building of factories, mills, coal and ore mines, oil wells, power stations, and railways called for enormous funds.

In capitalist countries such funds for industrialization were obtained by ruthless exploitation of the working people, by wars of aggrandizement, by the bloodthirsty plunder of colonies and dependent countries, and by usurious loans. Thus, Great Britain developed her industry with the riches accumulated over centuries of plunder of the colonies she had seized in all parts of the world. When Germany vanquished France in 1870 she imposed heavy tribute on that country, and used this money to develop her industry.

The Soviet Union could not resort to such infamous means of obtaining funds for industrialization, since colonial plunder and military aggrandizement are incompatible with the very essence of Soviet power. Also, the capitalist countries refused to give the Soviet Union loans, reckoning that without their aid the U.S.S.R. would not be able to build up its industry and would therefore have to become dependent on foreign countries. But the capitalist rulers bitterly miscalculated. The huge funds needed for building a powerful industry were found within the country itself.

Lenin and Stalin indicated the sources that could be tapped, sources such as no capitalist country has had or ever could have.

What were these sources?

The Soviet state had taken over all the mills, factories and land, all the means of transport, the banks and home and foreign trade. In the capitalist countries most of the national wealth is appropriated by the capitalists, landlords and their henchmen. In our country these parasites had been swept out of the way. Socialist industrialization is based on the social ownership of the means of production, on the accumulation and husbanding of the wealth created by the labour of the workers and peasants. In the U.S.S.R. the profits from industry, transport, trade and the banks are used to expand the national economy; they do not go into the pockets of the capitalists as is the case in bourgeois countries.

The October Revolution had annulled the tsarist debts, on which the people had annually paid hundreds of millions of gold rubles in interest alone. The October Revolution had freed the peasantry from annual payment of rent to the landlords. Released from this heavy burden, the peasantry were able to help the state build up industry.

The Soviet state carried on and still carries on a steady struggle to raise the productivity of labour and reduce production costs, and strictly cut down expenditures, thus accumulating the maximum funds for expanding industry.

By tapping all these sources the Soviet state found the enormous funds needed for industrializing the country. The Soviet method, advanced by Stalin, made it possible to build up a powerful advanced industry in the U.S.S.R. within a short space of time.

### **Development of Industry in the First Five-Year Plan Period**

Having accumulated the forces and the funds the Soviet country set about to carry out the important task of socialist building—the industrialization of the country.

In 1926/27 already 1,000,000,000 rubles were invested in industry and it was possible to start construction work on the first big industrial giants. The share of industrial production in the total output of the national economy had risen to 42 per cent, and the gross increase in industrial production that year by 18 per cent. Industrialization was making headway.

Proceeding from this the Party and the Soviet government were able to draw up long-term plans for socialist construction. Formerly the development of the country's national economy was planned a year ahead, now it was possible to plan over a period of five years. And so the First Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. was drawn up.

The fundamental task of the five-year plan was to effect such industrial development in our country as would be able to re-equip and reorganize not only the whole of industry as such, but also transport and agriculture. In pursuance of this the gigantic new plan of construction was elaborated.

The First Five-Year Plan went into effect on October 1, 1928. The Soviet people applied themselves unsparingly to carry it out. Socialist emulation developed at the factories and mills. The Communist Party called on the working people to further develop socialist emulation. Comrade Stalin stated at the time that "...emulation is the *lever* with the aid of which the working class is called upon to change the whole economic and cultural life of the country on the basis of Socialism."\*

Socialist emulation produced splendid examples of the new, socialist attitude to labour. Shock workers topped their targets. At many factories the workers drew up counterplans. The slogan "Fulfil the Five-Year Plan in Four Years!" came into being; the response to this was a

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\* J. Stalin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 12, p. 109.

powerful movement for the fulfilment of the plan ahead of schedule.

New industrial construction on a vast scale was started: on the Stalingrad Tractor Works, the Dnieper Hydroelectric Power Station, the Turkestan-Siberian Railway, the Rostov Agricultural Machinery Works, the Urals Heavy Machinery Works, the Berezniki Chemical Works and other plants. New coal and ore mines, engineering, locomotive and iron and steel works were built and the old ones expanded.

Construction work proceeded under difficult conditions, frequently in remote, semidesert areas; there was often a shortage of building materials, working processes were not mechanized, transport facilities were bad and the housing conditions for the workers not of the best. But the indomitable will of the Bolsheviks and the heroic efforts of the workers overcame all difficulties. Industrial construction forged ahead. History had never known construction on such a gigantic scale, such labour enthusiasm on the part of the working class.

Already in the first year of the five-year plan period the Soviet people achieved tremendous victories in all spheres of socialist construction. Stalin called it a year of great change.

In November 1929 in his article "A Year of Great Change" Stalin wrote: "We are advancing full steam ahead along the path of industrialization—to Socialism, leaving behind the age-long 'Russian' backwardness. We are becoming a country of metal, a country of automobiles, a country of tractors. And when we have put the U.S.S.R. on an automobile, and the muzhik on a tractor, let the esteemed capitalists, who boast so much of their 'civilization,' try to overtake us! We shall see which countries may then be 'classified' as backward and which as advanced."\*

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\* J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1947, p. 300.



The First Five-Year Plan was fulfilled at the end of 1932, in 4 years and 3 months.

During this period the Soviet Union built up a modern socialist industry; it created many new industries, converted poorly-developed, and in many instances semi-handicraft production, into highly-developed branches of modern industry. More than 1,500 factories and mills, equipped with the most up-to-date machinery were constructed and put into operation; an iron and steel, tractor, automobile, machine tool, chemical, agricultural machinery, and aircraft industry were founded. Industrial output rose from 48 per cent of the total for the entire national economy in the beginning of the five-year plan to 70 per cent when the plan was completed. Heavy industry's share in total industrial output rose from 42 per cent to 52 per cent.

The new coal and metallurgical centre created on Stalin's initiative and under his direction in the east—in the Urals and Siberia—by exploiting the rich coal and ore deposits of these regions, was most important in strengthening the military and economic might of the Soviet Union. The Kuznetsk collieries were expanded, the Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk iron and steel mills and a number of engineering works were built in an exceptionally short space of time. Stalin foresaw the great importance of the Urals and Kuznetsk industrial region in the event of the imperialist countries attacking the U.S.S.R. He proved to be right. During the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 the industries in the eastern regions of the country supplied the army and navy with enormous quantities of arms and ammunition.

During the first five-year plan period production in the U.S.S.R. far outstripped Russia's prewar level: industrial output increased more than threefold as compared with the prewar figure. And this at a time when production in the U.S.A. dropped to 84 per cent of the prewar level, in Britain to 75 per cent, in Germany to 62 per



cent, etc. These figures vividly demonstrate the superiority of Socialism over capitalism.

These successes in socialist industrialization were achieved in a bitter class struggle. Hostile elements, acting on orders of the imperialists, did all they could to disrupt, or at least to retard, the socialist industrialization of the country. With the help of bourgeois experts they sabotaged the national economy; damaged machinery, caused explosions and set fire to pits, plants and power stations. The Trotskyites and Bukharinites, the worst enemies of the people, actively helped the foreign imperialists and anti-Soviet elements inside the country in their subversive activities.

But the enemy's machinations were foiled. The Party and the Soviet government, supported by the working people, exposed and defeated the enemies of the people; the wreckers and diversionists were caught and put on trial, and met with their deserts. Led by the Party and its leader, Stalin, the Soviet people successfully carried out the socialist industrialization of the U.S.S.R.

Guided by Lenin's precepts, Stalin outlined the main principles of socialist industrialization and armed the Party and the Soviet people with a precise and clear program. It was Stalin who inspired and organized the titanic work of creating a powerful socialist industry in our country. There was not a single sphere or aspect of industrialization that escaped Stalin's attention. It was on his initiative that new industries were built and formerly backward industries reconstructed. It was he that inspired the creation of a second coal and metallurgical centre in the U.S.S.R. It was he who organized and directed socialist construction projects. All the successes achieved in the socialist industrialization of the country are indissolubly associated with the name of Stalin.

### **3. THE COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE**

#### **The Socialist Path to Creating Large-Scale Agriculture**

Socialist industry began to forge rapidly ahead already in the early years of industrialization. But agriculture, particularly grain farming, presented a different picture. The development of agriculture at that period was considerably lagging behind the development of industry and the requirements of the country.

What was the reason for this?

The scattered nature of peasant farming. At the beginning of the first five-year plan period there were twenty-five million peasant farms in the country. The scattered nature of agriculture hampered its development, made it impossible to employ machinery and advanced farming methods. The result was poor harvests. Small-scale farming did not possess the advantages of large-scale socialist production. The small farms could produce only very little marketable grain for the towns. Although agriculture as a whole had passed the prewar level, its marketed share of the grain yield scarcely attained 37 per cent of the prewar level. Had such a state of affairs continued it would have been impossible to supply the growing urban population and the army with grain.

What was needed to put an end to this backwardness in agriculture, to raise the welfare of the peasant and to

supply the country with more bread, cotton and other agricultural and dairy produce?

It was necessary to pass over to large-scale, collective farming. How this was to be done was indicated in the cooperative plan promoted by Lenin and Stalin.

Lenin taught that cooperation (at first in the sphere of supply and marketing and later of production), is the most accessible form, the one best understood by the peasant, the form paving the way to the voluntary transition to large-scale, common farming. Lenin showed that the small-peasant farm could not ensure the development of agriculture, could not put an end to backwardness and poverty. "There is no escape from poverty for the small farm,"\* Lenin said.

Stalin further developed Lenin's precepts, worked out and gave practical effect to the theory of the collectivization of agriculture.

Stalin stressed that it was necessary to pass from small-scale peasant farming to large-scale socialist farming which alone would make it possible to employ agricultural machinery, advanced farming methods and secure an increase in marketable produce.

Large-scale farming can be conducted either along capitalist lines or along socialist, collective lines. The Communist Party rejected the capitalist way of developing agriculture, which would have meant the ruination of the peasant masses, would have destroyed the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and would have led to the defeat of Socialism. The Trotskyites and Bukharinites did their utmost to commit the Party to this disastrous course.

But the Communist Party took the path indicated by Lenin and Stalin, the path of the socialist reorganization of agriculture.

In his report to the Fifteenth Congress of the Party,

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\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 3rd Russ. ed, Vol. XXIV, p. 540.

Stalin said: "The way out is to unite the small and dwarf peasant farms gradually but surely, not by pressure, but by example and persuasion, into large farms based on common, cooperative, collective cultivation of the land with the use of agricultural machines and tractors and scientific methods of intensive agriculture."\*

The Fifteenth Congress of the Party, held in December 1927, passed a resolution calling for the fullest development of collective farming. This congress has gone down in history as the Congress of Collectivization.

The Bolsheviks explained to the peasants that they could throw off the yoke of kulak bondage, emerge from poverty and ignorance, and attain a prosperous life only by uniting in collective farms.

The poor and middle peasants gradually convinced themselves of the advantages of collective farming and began to amalgamate into collective farms.

In 1929 not only the poor peasants but the middle peasants as well took the new, socialist path, and began to join the collective farms en masse, in whole villages, volosts and districts. Simultaneously with this the number of state farms increased, as also the crop area and marketable produce of the collective farms and state farms. Thus, in 1929 alone, the marketable produce of the collective farms increased three and a half times. Such a rapid rate of development was unknown even to socialist industry.

What contributed to the successes in the collectivization of agriculture?

The fact that the swing of the peasants toward collectivization had been prepared for in advance by the work of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government.

It was primarily the development of socialist industry that prepared the way to collectivization. With every passing year Soviet industry was producing more and

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\* J. Stalin, *Political Report of the Central Committee to the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.)*, Moscow 1950, pp. 51-52.

more tractors and other agricultural machinery. In June 1930, in his message congratulating the workers of the Stalingrad Tractor Works, Stalin wrote: "The 50,000 tractors which you are to produce for our country every year will be 50,000 projectiles shattering the old, bourgeois world and clearing the way for the new, socialist system in the countryside."\*

In 1932 there were 148,000 tractors in agriculture. In the first five-year plan period industry supplied the countryside with agricultural machinery and implements to the value of 1,610,000,000 rubles.

On the proposal of Stalin the Soviet state opened machine and tractor stations to service the collective farms. In 1928 there was only one machine and tractor station in the country; at the end of the First Five-Year Plan there were nearly two and a half thousand. With the help of these stations the Soviet state began to render enormous organizational and technical help to the collective farms.

The state farms played an important part in the collectivization of agriculture. The peasants saw from the experience of these farms the power and advantages of the new technique and large-scale socialist economy.

The cooperative form of agriculture which taught the peasants habits of collective farming greatly contributed to the success of collectivization. The peasantry gradually passed from the lower forms of cooperative farming (marketing of agricultural produce and supplying the peasants with means of production and manufactured goods), to the higher form of cooperative farming—to the producer cooperatives, that is, to the collective farms. The producer cooperative was the highroad to Socialism for the peasantry.

The ground for the swing-over of the bulk of the peasantry to collective socialist agriculture was prepared by

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\* J. Stalin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 12, p. 234.

the vigorous struggle against the kulaks during the period of grain deliveries to the state in 1928 and 1929. The kulaks realized that the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture meant that their end had come. Encouraged by the support of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites, the kulaks bitterly resisted all measures taken by the Party and the Soviet government. They attempted to prevent grain deliveries to the state and thus deprive the country of bread, obstruct the development of industry and weaken the Soviet power.

The Communist Party roused the working peasantry to wage a vigorous struggle against the kulaks. The Soviet government introduced a particularly high tax on kulak farming, adopted emergency measures against the kulaks, and confiscated their grain surpluses. The policy of resolutely combating the kulaks, rallied the poor and middle peasants round the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government. The Party, ever since Soviet rule was established, carried out extensive work in organizing the village poor and in strengthening the alliance between the working class and the working peasantry. It sent its best workers to the countryside to help the peasants in the struggle against the kulaks and to build the new life.

All this prepared the ground for the transition to the solid collectivization of agriculture in the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet peasantry took the collective-farm path to Socialism. The Soviet countryside awoke to a new life. The old social order which had existed for centuries, fell to pieces.

### **From the Policy of Restricting the Kulaks to the Policy of Eliminating the Kulaks as a Class**

The transition to solid collectivization was not a peaceful process during which the overwhelming bulk of the peasantry simply joined the collective farms. It was

marked by a struggle of the peasant masses against the kulaks.

The kulaks did everything to prevent the peasants from taking the new path. They agitated against the collective farms, resorted to terror against the collective-farm activists, burned down their homes, assassinated collective farmers, organized the mass sale and slaughter of cattle, etc. Lenin repeatedly stressed that the kulaks were the most brutal and savage exploiters, the frenzied enemies of Soviet rule and that the proletariat would have to launch the final offensive against the kulaks. This decisive battle was fought in 1929-1930.

At first the Soviet state had pursued a policy of restricting and dislodging the capitalist elements from the countryside. It had imposed higher taxes on the kulak. Soviet laws restricted the right to hire labour on the kulak farms, prevented the kulaks enlarging their farms by renting additional land.

The effect of this policy was to arrest the growth of the kulak class, some sections of which, unable to withstand the pressure of these restrictions, were squeezed out. But this policy did not destroy the economic basis of the kulaks as a class, nor did it tend to eliminate them as a class. It was a policy of restricting the kulaks, not of eliminating them. This policy was essential up to a certain time, that is, as long as the collective farms and state farms were still weak and a considerable quantity of grain still came from the kulak farms.

At the end of 1929 the collective farms and state farms were supplying the state with more grain than were the kulak farms. The collective farms and state farms were in a position where they could fully substitute the kulaks in grain production. Such being the case the Party and the Soviet government, on the proposal of Stalin, turned from the policy of restricting and dislodging the kulaks to the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class on the basis of solid collectivization.



In the regions where solid collectivization was established the Soviet government prohibited the renting of land and employment of hired labour on the farms, thus depriving the kulaks both of rented land and of hired labour. The Soviet government permitted the peasants to confiscate the land, cattle, machines and other farm property of the kulaks for the benefit of the collective farms. The local organs of Soviet power were empowered to take every necessary measure against the kulaks, including even their expulsion from the locality. The elimination of the kulaks as a class was effected by the poor and middle peasants themselves, who carried out solid collectivization.

Peasants uniting in collective farms would pass resolutions such as the following: "Minutes No. 2 of the general meeting of the peasants of the *Trud Krestyanina* TOZ.,\* January 31, 1930. Agenda: Collectivization and the elimination of the kulaks as a class. Resolved: Having heard the report on the elimination of the kulaks as a class in the village, we, members of the *Trud Krestyanina* TOZ, basing ourselves on the fact that the kulaks are the class enemy of the bulk of the peasant masses in the village and are obstructing the measures of the Party and the Soviet government to reorganize agriculture, have resolved immediately to dispossess the kulaks of all their property, this to be handed over to the TOZ and to ask the district administrative department to evict the kulaks from the district."

The enemies of the Party and of the Soviet state did everything to prevent the collectivization of agriculture and to preserve the kulak class as the chief bulwark of capitalism in our country. The Bukharinites circulated the false "theory" that the class struggle was subsiding, that the kulaks would "peaceably grow into Socialism." They bitterly resisted the establishment of the collective farms

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\* TOZ—initial letters of term signifying the joint cultivation of the soil.—*Tr.*



and state farms. The Party unmasked these traitors, and exposed them as agents of the kulaks. It realized that Socialism could not be built in the countryside unless these traitors were vigorously combated.

The enemies of the Party tried to undermine the collectivization of agriculture also by distorting the Party line. By instigating local Party workers to carry out collectivization by force, to collectivize small livestock, poultry, etc., they hoped to incense the peasantry, and to set them against the Soviet power. All these attempts, however, failed.

Stalin guided collective-farm development along the right path. The Party took energetic measures to rectify the distortions and mistakes committed in a number of districts by local Party workers. The distortions of the Party line in the collective-farm movement were corrected. This made it possible to consolidate the success of the collective farms and prepare the ground for a new and powerful advance in this field.

At the beginning of the first five-year plan period small-scale individual farming predominated in the countryside. At the end of the five-year plan period there were more than 200,000 collective farms and about 5,000 state farms. Collectivization was completed in the principal regions of the U.S.S.R. and in the country as a whole embraced 60 per cent of the peasant households and more than 70 per cent of the crop area. The socialist system had become the predominant force in agriculture.

This was a profound revolution in the countryside, equivalent in its consequences to the revolution of October 1917. It was accomplished on the initiative of the state and was directly supported by the millions of peasants, who were fighting to throw off kulak bondage and to live a free life in the collective farms. This revolution solved the fundamental problems of socialist construction in the countryside: it eliminated the most numerous class of exploiters in our country, the kulak class; the most

numerous labouring class in our country, the peasant class, passed over to the path of collective, socialist farming; the Soviet regime was furnished with a socialist base in agriculture.

The collectivization of agriculture still further strengthened the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. The collective-farm peasantry became the stable support of Soviet power in the countryside. The Soviet working peasantry completely and irrevocably took its stand under the flag of Socialism.

The paramount task of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture was solved under the wise leadership of Comrade Stalin. Under his guidance the way was prepared for and there was actually effected the historic transition from the policy of restricting and squeezing out the kulaks to the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class, on the basis of solid collectivization.

Stalin is the architect of the collective-farm system. He has directed its development, and is doing all he can to consolidate the collective farms. Thanks to Stalin's firm and circumspect leadership the collective-farm system has developed into a powerful, invincible force, and agriculture in the U.S.S.R. has become the most advanced in the world.

## **4. THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.S.R.**

### **The Second Five-Year Plan**

The Soviet Union steadily advanced. Having successfully fulfilled the First Five-Year Plan the Soviet people in January 1933 embarked on their Second Five-Year Plan which was on an even vaster scale than the First Five-Year Plan.

In the first five-year plan period the foundation was laid of socialist society. The tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan were completely to eliminate what was left of the capitalist elements in the country, and the causes giving rise to the exploitation of man by man, to turn the working people of the U.S.S.R. into conscious, active builders of socialist society.

In the first five-year plan period the foundations were laid of socialist industry. In the second five-year plan period it was necessary, relying on this industry, to equip all branches of the national economy—industry and agriculture, transport and communications—with advanced technique. The major task of the Second Five-Year Plan was to complete the technical reconstruction of the entire national economy.

In the struggle to carry out the Second Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union achieved splendid victories. Many new giant industrial undertakings were built in a short space of time. The new and reconstructed plants were already supplying the country with more than 80 per cent of its

manufactured goods. The three giants of the iron and steel industry—the Magnitogorsk, Kuznetsk and Makeyevka mills were producing as much cast iron as did the whole of tsarist Russia's iron and steel industry. At the end of the second five-year plan period the Dnieper Power Station alone was producing more electric power than all the power stations of tsarist Russia taken together. The engineering works were turning out new modern machines, automobiles, tractors, harvester combines and locomotives in large numbers.

During the second five-year plan period the output of coal doubled, that of electric power nearly trebled; the output of iron ore and cast iron more than doubled and steel production trebled. Compared with the prewar figure industrial output in the U.S.S.R. had increased more than sevenfold by the end of 1937.

Socialist agriculture, too, continued to forge ahead. The total area under crops in 1937 reached 135,000,000 hectares as against 105,000,000 hectares in 1913. The grain harvest was 2,000,000,000 poods in excess of the 1913 level. Also the harvests of cotton, flax, and sugar beet, not to mention other crops, were much higher than those before the war.

Toward the end of the Second Five-Year Plan the collectivization of agriculture had been nearly completed. Already 93 per cent of the peasant households had joined the collective farms. In 1937 no less than 450,000 tractors, 128,000 harvester combines, 126,000 multiple and semimultiple threshers, and 144,000 motor trucks were working on the fields of the collective farms.

The technical reconstruction of the national economy was completed in the second five-year plan period. There was a time when our country suffered from a dearth of technique, for tsarist Russia was one of the most backward countries in the world in this respect. But the Bolsheviks, guided by Stalin's precept that "technique in the period of reconstruction decides everything,"

mobilized all forces and resources to eliminate this dearth, and to supply the national economy and our army abundantly with technique. The national economy and the Red Army received the most up-to-date technique in the world.

In these conditions the Party decided to focus the attention of our cadres on the need to master the new technique. The Party set the task of training people capable of mastering advanced technique and utilizing it to the full. Addressing graduates from the Red Army Academies in May 1935, Comrade Stalin said: "In order to set technique going and to utilize it to the full, we need people who have mastered technique, we need cadres capable of mastering and utilizing this technique according to all the rules of the art. Without people who have mastered technique, technique is dead. In the charge of people who have mastered technique, technique can and should perform miracles."\* And Stalin advanced the slogan: "Cadres decide everything!"

Stalin's pronouncement on the need to master technique awakened a wide response among the masses, and aroused in them a new and mighty wave of labour enthusiasm. Millions of people, responding to Stalin's call, entered technical colleges, and set about raising their skill. And so the number of cadres who had mastered the new technique increased in the coal and ore mines, the factories and mills, in the transport system and in agriculture.

On August 31, 1935, Alexei Stakhanov, a young coal hewer in the Central Irmino Colliery (Donets Basin), hewed 102 tons of coal in one shift. Until then the standard output had been 7-8 tons of coal a shift. Thus, Stakhanov fulfilled the standard output fourteen times over. He was followed by other coal hewers who broke his record. The example of the miners was taken up by

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\* J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1947, p. 523.

workers in other industries and in transport and agriculture. This was the beginning of the splendid Stakhanov movement, called after its originator.

The Stakhanov movement raised socialist emulation to new heights. In the early period socialist emulation was not necessarily associated with the new technique; for that matter there was hardly any modern technique in the country in the initial period of socialist construction. New people, Stakhanovites, came to the fore who had mastered the technique of their jobs, had harnessed it and driven ahead. Their numbers grew and before long the Stakhanov movement had become a mass movement.

Socialist emulation and the Stakhanov movement played an important part in the pre-schedule fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan. It was completed by April 1, 1937, that is, in 4 years and 3 months. This was a most important victory for Socialism.

### **Strengthening the Collective-Farm System**

Having created the new, collective-farm system the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state then took all possible measures to strengthen and consolidate it.

In the beginning the growth of trained personnel on the collective farms did not keep pace with the numerical growth of the collective farms themselves. The work of the collective farms was not always satisfactory and the collective farms themselves were still weak. The inexperience of the peasants in managing the collective farms affected the work of the latter. It should be remembered that the collective farmers were the individual peasants of yesterday and time was needed for them to acquire the necessary experience in running big farms.

The situation in the newly organized collective farms was made doubly difficult by the fact that kulaks and their toadies had managed to worm their way into many

collective farms where they engaged in sabotage and caused mischief. Comrade Stalin showed how many Party leaders had failed to realize that the class enemy had changed his tactics, that he now employed more refined methods in fighting the collective farms. From open attacks the kulak passed over to stealthy undermining work. The kulaks and their henchmen began to pose as "innocent," "unoffending" folk. In their positions as storemen, bookkeepers, etc., they left no stone unturned to disorganize the collective farms from within, to undermine labour discipline, to muddle the accounts, to destroy the horses of the collective farms and damage farm machinery.

In January 1933 the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party disclosed these considerable shortcomings in the work of the collective farms and outlined the steps to be taken to rectify them. The principal measure for strengthening socialist agriculture, it was decided, was the organization of political departments in the machine and tractor stations and in the state farms. By decision of the Central Committee Plenum more than three thousand political departments were organized in the machine and tractor stations and two thousand in the state farms. Staunch and tested Bolsheviks were sent to work in the political departments where they were to put an end to kulak sabotage and swiftly and effectively help strengthen the collective farms organizationally, and to improve their management.

In the space of two years (1933 and 1934) the political departments of the machine and tractor stations and of the state farms accomplished a great deal. Under their guidance the state farms and collective farms learned to take a Bolshevik attitude to their work. Under the guidance of the political departments a tenacious struggle was waged to expose the hostile, kulak and wrecking elements and to drive them out of the collective farms, and to protect state and collective-farm property. The political depart-



ments trained skilled personnel for the collective farms, raised the political level and activity of the collective-farm members, improved the management of the collective farms. They also played a decisive role in consolidating the collective farms organizationally.

Of tremendous importance in rallying the masses of collective farmers to work for the strengthening of the collective farms was the First All-Union Congress of Collective-Farm Shock Workers held in February 1933. It was attended by 1,500 delegates who had come from all parts of the country to discuss this question.

In his speech to this congress, a speech simple in form and rich in content, Stalin touched on the vital questions that daily affected the collective farmer. Comrade Stalin showed that the peasantry had achieved a great deal by adopting the collective-farm way. They had extricated themselves from poverty and kulak bondage; millions of poor peasants who had formerly lived in penury had now risen to the level of former middle peasants, and had attained material security. The next step was to make all collective farmers—both former poor peasants and former middle peasants—prosperous.

Comrade Stalin showed how this task could be carried out, when he said: "Only one thing is now needed for the collective farmers to become prosperous, and that is for them to work in the collective farms conscientiously; to make efficient use of the tractors and machines; to make efficient use of the draught cattle; to cultivate the land efficiently and to take proper care of the collective-farm property."\* Comrade Stalin's speech made a profound impression on the millions of collective farmers and became a practical program of action for the collective farms.

The Party and Soviet organizations in the countryside and the collective farms were guided in their work by

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\* J. Stalin, *Speech Delivered at the First All-Union Congress of Collective-Farm Shock Workers*, Moscow 1950, pp. 24-25.



Stalin's words: to make all collective farms Bolshevik farms and all collective farmers prosperous. As a result of the extensive assistance rendered by the Party and the Soviet state the collective farms developed enormously and stood firmly on their feet.

Of great importance in furthering the development of the collective farms were the Model Rules of the Agricultural Artel, drawn up under the guidance of Stalin and adopted by the Second All-Union Congress of Collective-Farm Shock Workers in 1935.

These Model Rules, which became the fundamental law of the collective farms, state: "The collective-farm path, the path of Socialism is the only correct path for the working peasantry. The members of the artel pledge to strengthen their artel, to work honestly, to share the collective-farm incomes, according to work performed, to protect the property held in common, to take care of collective-farm property, of tractors and machinery, to tend the farm's horses properly, to carry out the instructions of their workers' and peasants' state, and thus help to make the collective farm a Bolshevik farm and all collective farmers prosperous."

### **Adoption of the Stalin Constitution. Beginning of the Third Five-Year Plan**

As a result of the fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan the capitalist elements in our country were completely eliminated and Socialism held undivided sway in the national economy. The collective-farm order had fully and finally triumphed and the kulaks were completely eliminated as a class. Public, socialist ownership became firmly established in the national economy.

All this fundamentally changed the appearance of Soviet society. The exploitation of man by man was abolished forever. There were no longer any exploiting ele-

ments such as capitalists, merchants, kulaks and speculators in Soviet society. Soviet society now consisted of two friendly classes: the working class, and the peasantry, and of the intelligentsia, whose members came from the ranks of the workers and peasants.

The relations between the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia in our socialist society are built on the principles of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance.

"Our mills and factories," said Stalin, "are being run without capitalists. The work is directed by men and women of the people. That is what we call Socialism in practice. In our fields the tillers of the land work without landlords and without kulaks. The work is directed by men and women of the people. That is what we call Socialism in daily life, that is what we call a free, socialist life."\*

The victory of Socialism necessitated changing the Constitution of the Soviet Union, the fundamental law which determines the social and state structure of our country. The previous Constitution of the U.S.S.R. had been adopted in 1924, when the Soviet government still permitted the development of capitalism within certain limits alongside of the development of Socialism. The question, "Who will win?" had not yet been settled. The state farms and collective farms were still mere islands in a boundless ocean of individual peasant farms.

The U.S.S.R. presented an entirely different picture in 1936. The capitalist elements as such no longer existed. The question, "Who will win?" had been indisputably solved in favour of Socialism both in industry and agriculture. The state farms and collective farms held undisputed sway in agriculture. It stands to reason that all

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\* J. Stalin, *Speeches Delivered at Meetings of Voters of the Stalin Electoral District, Moscow, December 11, 1937 and February 9, 1946*, Moscow 1950, p. 13.

these changes needed to be reflected in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. The new Constitution was drafted under the direction of Stalin. After nation-wide discussion the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets, meeting in December 1936, approved the new Constitution, which the Soviet people named after its author, the Stalin Constitution.

The new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. gave legislative embodiment to the victory of Socialism in our country. The dream of millions of working people in the capitalist countries was already made a reality in the U.S.S.R. It was the fruit of a long and arduous struggle waged by our people for their emancipation, for Socialism.

Reporting on the Draft Constitution of the Soviet Union, Stalin said: "After the path of struggle and privation that has been traversed, it gives pleasure and happiness to have our Constitution, which treats of the fruits of our victories. It gives pleasure and happiness to know what our people fought for and how they achieved this victory of world-wide historical importance. It gives pleasure and happiness to know that the blood our people shed so plentifully was not shed in vain, that it has produced results. This arms our working class, our peasantry, our working intelligentsia spiritually. It impels them forward and rouses a sense of legitimate pride. It increases confidence in our strength and mobilizes us for fresh struggles for the achievement of new victories of Communism."\*

The victory of Socialism had been won in a bitter struggle against all hostile forces in the country. The kulaks, wreckers, Bukharinites, Trotskyites, Zinovievites and other traitors resorted to every means in an effort to restore capitalist slavery in the U.S.S.R. But all their plans were shattered. The Party and the Soviet state

\* J. Stalin, *On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.*, Moscow 1951, pp. 66-67.

steadily grew stronger and successfully abolished the remnants of capitalism in our country.

With the ground slipping from under their feet the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and other such traitors joined the espionage services of foreign bourgeois states and on their instructions committed dastardly acts against the Party and the Soviet state. These fiends foully assassinated Sergei Mironovich Kirov and murdered V. R. Menzhinsky, V. V. Kuibyshev and A. M. Gorky. They committed acts of wrecking and sabotage and organized explosions. Complying with the orders of their masters the Trotskyite-Bukharinite gang set out to undermine the defensive power of the country, to facilitate foreign military intervention, to prepare the way for the defeat of the Soviet Union.

The Party and the Soviet state smashed the wasps' nests of the enemies of the people. Bringing to light their crimes the Soviet authorities liquidated this gang of traitors. This was of tremendous importance for the victory of Socialism in our country and for the defence of the Soviet Union against foreign imperialists.

Having built Socialism in the main, the Soviet people entered a new phase of development—the phase of the completion of the building of socialist society and of the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism.

In 1938 the Soviet people embarked on the fulfilment of the Third Five-Year Plan, which set new tremendous tasks before the Soviet country.

According to the Third Five-Year Plan the volume of industrial output in 1942 was to reach the sum of 184,000,000,000 rubles. This was nearly double the amount produced in the last year of the Second Five-Year Plan. The volume of agricultural production was to be increased by 10,000,000,000 rubles. The national income was to be doubled. The consumption per head of the population was to increase by from 50 to 100 per cent. Thousands upon thousands of new factories and mills, and an enormous

number of dwelling houses, cultural institutions, etc., were to be built during the third five-year plan period.

The Soviet people succeeded in the first period of this five-year plan in carrying out a great part of what the plan called for. The national economy was rising to a new, higher level, ensuring the gradual transition of our country to Communism.

### **Improvement in the Welfare of the Working People**

Socialism brought our people great material benefits. It did away with involuntary labour for the exploiters and emancipated labour, placing it at the service of the whole of society. Unemployment was abolished in our country already in the first five-year plan period. The workers of the Soviet Union are sure of the morrow, they are not haunted by the fear of unemployment which dooms millions of workers in the capitalist countries to starvation and poverty.

The victory of Socialism opened the way to a prosperous and cultured life for all members of society. "Life has improved, comrades. Life has become more joyous," said Stalin.

Take the national income as an index. In 1913 the national income of tsarist Russia was 21,000,000,000 rubles, of which three-quarters were pocketed by the exploiting classes. In the first five-year plan period the national income of the U.S.S.R. rose to 45,500,000,000 rubles, in the second five-year plan period to 96,300,000,000 rubles and in the third five-year plan period, in 1940, reached the sum of 128,300,000,000 rubles. The entire national income was used to meet the growing requirements of the working people and the steady development of the socialized economy.

The tremendous expansion of industry was accompanied by the numerical growth of the country's working

class. The number of factory and office workers increased by 6,000,000 in the period between 1933 to 1938 and the average yearly wages of the workers more than doubled. The annual pay roll of factory and office workers in 1933 was about 35,000,000,000 rubles. In 1938 it stood at more than 96,000,000,000 rubles. The workers became more skilled and this led to an increase in wages. There was a radical improvement in working conditions and health protection in the mills and factories. Well-built new factories and mills with excellent ventilation and lighting replaced the low-ceilinged, stuffy and small shops of the old plants.

The state spends vast sums on social insurance for the factory and office workers, on improving their living conditions and on housing construction. Blocks of new houses with all modern conveniences have been built in the cities. Many of the former workers' settlements have grown into big towns.

Socialism did away with kulak bondage, ruin and destitution in the countryside. The collective-farm system brought our peasantry a prosperous life. Every passing year sees an increase in the crop yield, in the productivity of cattle raising, in the incomes of the collective farmers, whose cultural requirements are growing. The monetary incomes of the collective farms in 1933 was a little over 5,600,000,000 rubles; in 1937 they already reached more than 14,180,000,000 rubles. The average amount of grain received by the collective-farm household in the grain-growing regions rose from 61 poods in 1933 to 144 poods in 1937.

### **The Cultural Revolution in the U.S.S.R.**

The rise in the cultural standards of the Soviet people is commensurate with the rise in the national economy. The cultural level of the people in tsarist Russia was an extremely low one. Three out of every four persons were

illiterate. There were higher educational institutions only in a few towns. Education was practically inaccessible to the children of workers and peasants. The majority of the working people in the capitalist countries are to this day unable to give their children an education.

The bourgeoisie of all countries and their henchmen held that the Bolsheviks would not be able to retain power, let alone build Socialism without a highly educated people, without an intelligentsia. "The Bolsheviks will fail," predicted our enemies. "No, we won't," replied the Bolsheviks. "First we will take power and then rapidly raise the cultural level of the people, train cadres of the Soviet intelligentsia drawn from the people who will serve the workers and peasants loyally and honestly and together with them build Socialism."

The Bolsheviks proved to be right.

For the first time in the history of mankind the Soviet state brought science and enlightenment to the working people. It threw wide the doors of all educational institutions, from elementary to higher, to the people. Schools, circles, clubs, village reading rooms, libraries and other cultural institutions were opened throughout the country. Workers' faculties were organized as a preparatory course to entering higher educational institutions. The Party and the Soviet state, the Young Communist League and other public organizations took far-reaching measures to abolish illiteracy among the people. The number of books, magazines and newspapers published in the Soviet Union steadily increased.

Cultural development proceeded apace in our country during the period of industrialization and of the collectivization of agriculture. In order to build Socialism it was necessary to raise the general educational level and technical skill of the workers and peasants and to train proletarian specialists in all branches of the national economy. Addressing the Congress of the Young Communist League in 1928, Comrade Stalin said: "The



working class cannot become the real master of the country unless it raises its cultural level, unless it creates its own intelligentsia, unless it masters science and unless it runs the national economy on scientific lines.”\*

In response to Stalin's call, tens and hundreds of thousands of Soviet people mastered science. The years of the Stalin five-year plans saw an expansion of the network of educational institutions—schools, technical colleges, universities and scientific establishments. In the first five-year plan period alone the number of higher educational institutions in our country increased fivefold. In 1914 there were 112,000 university students in the country; in 1938-1939 the figure was 603,000. There are more students in the higher educational institutions of the U.S.S.R. than in all the countries of Western Europe taken together.

The successful training of cadres of the new intelligentsia drawn from the ranks of the people, closely linked with the people and serving them, was a big achievement. In 1939 the Soviet intelligentsia, who take an active part in socialist construction in our country, totalled 11,800,000.

Tremendous progress in the field of culture also took place during the period of the five-year plans in the Soviet countryside. Radio, libraries, reading rooms, clubs, etc., appeared. Many collective farmers became leading scientific and cultural workers.

The very appearance of the rural districts changed. In his report to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.), in 1934 Stalin said:

“The old type of village, with the church in the most prominent place, with the best houses—those of the police officer, the priest, and the kulak—in the foreground, and the dilapidated huts of the peasants in the background,

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\* J. Stalin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, Russ. ed., p. 76.



is beginning to disappear. Its place is being taken by the new type of village, with its public buildings, clubs, radio, cinemas, schools, libraries and crèches; with its tractors, harvester combines, threshing machines, and automobiles. The former important personages of the village, the kulak-exploiter, the bloodsucking usurer, the profiteering merchant, the 'little father' police officer, have disappeared. Now, the prominent personages of the village are the leading workers in the collective farms and state farms, in the schools and clubs; the chief tractor and combine drivers, the team leaders in field work and livestock raising, and the best men and women shock workers on the collective-farm fields."\*

During the Stalin five-year plan periods universal compulsory elementary education was introduced throughout the U.S.S.R. This meant that all children had to attend elementary school. Comrade Stalin described the introduction of universal compulsory education as a decisive step in the cultural revolution. In 1914 the elementary and secondary schools in tsarist Russia were attended by 8,000,000 pupils; in 1938 there were 33,300,000 pupils attending the elementary and secondary schools in the Soviet Union. A total of 48,000,000 citizens of the U.S.S.R. were studying in the country's various schools and courses.

Most important, too, was the fact that literacy among the population rose to 90 per cent in 1933; by 1940 illiteracy among the adult population had been liquidated in the main.

Soviet art and science, too, recorded big achievements in the period of socialist construction. The Party and the Soviet state created all the conditions requisite for their steady development and growth. Hundreds and thousands

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\* J. Stalin, *Report to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) on the Work of the Central Committee*, Moscow 1951, p. 74.

of scientific institutions were opened in all parts of the country. Soviet science, literature and art assumed an honoured place in the life of the Soviet Union, such as they cannot hold in the capitalist countries.

### **The Soviet Union, a Leading Industrial and Kolkhoz Power**

The Stalin five-year plans changed the appearance of the Soviet Union. Our country cast off the integument of age-long backwardness. From an agrarian country it became an industrial country; from a land of small individual farms it became a land of large-scale collective, mechanized agriculture; from an ignorant, illiterate and uncultured country it became a literate and cultured country.

During the Stalin five-year plan periods many new towns came into being, some in the taiga and some in the deserts. In the bleak steppe, at the foot of Mt. Magnitnaya, Magnitogorsk sprang up, out of a small village there grew the big chemical centre of Berezniki in the Urals, out of the small village of Prokopyevsk, the centre of the Kuznetsk coal mines. New industrial towns appeared on the map: Stalinsk, Kirovsk, Stalinogorsk, Ishimbai, Magadan, Komsomolsk, Vorkuta and many others. A total of 364 towns were built during the period of the prewar Stalin five-year plans; the urban population more than doubled compared with 1913.

During the five-year plan periods new industrial centres were built and the old ones expanded, and industry was brought closer to the sources of raw materials. Huge plants arose in all parts of the country. A new coal and metallurgical centre was created in the eastern part of the Soviet Union, a powerful coal basin in Karaganda (Kazakhstan), a new oil centre, the so-called "Second Baku," in the region lying between the Volga and the

Urals. Coal began to be mined in the Pechora, beyond the Polar Circle; oil in Turkmenia, in the Komi Autonomous Republic (Ukhta), and in other regions. The mining of nonferrous metals was highly developed in Kazakhstan. The Soviet state brought to life the old, hoary Urals where new factories were built and the old ones reconstructed. In a word the Urals became a big and modern industrial centre.

"Our country is vast and abundant," is what the people used to say in the distant past. But it was only after they were emancipated that they were able to enjoy the country's wealth in full measure. Only under Socialism was this wealth exploited to the full and placed at the service of the people. Lenin's words, pronounced in the first year of the existence of Soviet rule, were borne out. "In our natural wealth, in our stores of man power, and in the splendid impetus which the great revolution has imparted to the creative powers of the people, we have the material for the creation of a truly mighty and abundant Russia."\*

The Stalin five-year plans transformed the U.S.S.R. into a leading industrial power. On the eve of the Second World War the U.S.S.R., outstripping Germany, Great Britain and France, occupied first place in Europe and second in the world in level of industrial development. In the prewar year of 1940 Soviet large-scale industry produced almost twelve times more than the large-scale industry of tsarist Russia in 1913. The output of the engineering and metal-processing industries increased forty-onfold for the same period.

Less than three five-year plans, that is, less than 13 years were needed to transform our country from an agrarian country into an industrial country. The Party carried out the grand plan of economic reconstruction in

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\* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Two-Volume ed., Vol. II, Part I, Moscow 1951, p. 444.

an incredibly short space of time. "It was a leap," said Stalin, "by which our Motherland became transformed from a backward country into a progressive country, from an agrarian into an industrial country."\*

The fulfilment of the Stalin five-year plans further developed and strengthened the country's advanced collective farming, conducted on the biggest scale in the world. The employment of tractors and other agricultural machinery facilitated the work of the collective farmers. In 1940 there were 530,000 tractors, 182,000 harvester combines, 228,000 trucks and hundreds of thousands of various agricultural machines working on the fields of the Soviet Union.

In the five prewar years the total area under crops increased by 13,000,000 hectares, the number of head of livestock by 39,000,000. Before the war three-quarters of all the ploughing in the collective farms and more than half of the sowing was done by tractor-hauled machines; half of the area sown to grain crops was harvested by combines. In the United States only half of the ploughing and one-third of the sowing is done with the aid of tractors. In the countries of Western Europe the mechanization of agriculture is at an even lower level.

### **Strengthening the Defensive Power of the U.S.S.R.**

Socialism was built in conditions of hostile capitalist encirclement. The imperialist countries were intensively preparing for war against the Soviet Union, were increasing their armed forces, expanding war production, setting up military bases, etc.

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\* J. Stalin, *Speeches Delivered at Meetings of the Stalin Electoral District, Moscow, December 11, 1937 and February 9, 1946*, Moscow 1950, p. 33.

Foreseeing the danger of an attack by the imperialists on the U.S.S.R. the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state steadily enhanced the defensive power of our country. The Soviet state centred every attention on its armed forces. The Party and the state strengthened the discipline and morale of the Red Army, trained officers and men capable of carrying out their duties with honour and distinction. The Soviet state equipped the Red Army with the most up-to-date military technique which the men in the armed forces mastered and employed to repel all attacks on our country.

During the Stalin five-year plan periods our army enhanced its power immeasurably. From a weak country, not prepared for defence the Soviet Union grew into a powerful country, a country prepared for all eventualities, a country capable of producing on a mass scale all types of modern arms and of supplying its army with these in the event of attack from without.

Following Comrade Stalin's precepts, the Party and the Soviet state over a lengthy period steadily and thoroughly prepared the Soviet Union for active defence.

As a result of the successful Stalin policy of industrialization the Soviet Union's material potential on the eve of World War II was far superior to that of tsarist Russia's when she entered the First World War.

In 1940 our country produced 15,000,000 tons of cast iron, which is four times more than in 1913; 18,300,000 tons of steel, which is four and a half times more than in 1913; 166,000,000 tons of coal, which is five and a half times more than in 1913; 31,000,000 tons of oil, which is three and a half times more than in 1913; 38,300,000 tons of marketable grain, that is 17,000,000 tons more than in 1913; 2,700,000 tons of raw cotton, which is three and a half times more than in 1913.

The Party knew that war was approaching. It realized that it would be impossible to build up the country's

defences without a heavy industry, without the necessary stocks of grain and raw materials.

Undeterred by difficulties and sweeping its enemies out of the way, the Party firmly and steadily implemented the policy of socialist industrialization of the country and of the collectivization of agriculture, built up a powerful socialist industry and advanced collective agriculture.

During the years of peaceful socialist construction the Party and the Soviet state won great historic victories. Throughout this period Stalin boldly and unswervingly, firmly and with circumspection led the Party and the Soviet country forward, breaking down all obstacles in the way. Comrade Stalin kept a watchful eye on the activities of the class enemy and directed the onslaught against its forces. Stalin rallied the Party and led it and all working people in the offensive against the last bulwark of capitalist exploitation in our country.

Comrade Stalin's great service is that he mobilized the whole working people to solve the titanic tasks of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. In those difficult years Comrade Stalin daily guided the varied activities of the Party and the Soviet state in the political, economic and cultural spheres, directing it towards the principal goal. The genius of Stalin, his unbending will and wise foresight made possible the building of a socialist society in the U.S.S.R.

## **BRIEF SUMMARY**

Lenin and Stalin scientifically proved that we possessed all the conditions necessary for building a complete socialist society. They armed the Party and the Soviet people with a clear program of socialist construction.

After having successfully restored the national economy, destroyed by the First World War and the Civil War, the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, set to work to carry out this program.

During the Stalin five-year plan periods the Soviet Union carried out the Lenin and Stalin plan for the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture. The Bolshevik Party surmounted all difficulties, crushed the resistance of class enemies, smashed the Trotskyite and Bukharinite traitors, and organized and directed the labour enthusiasm of the working class and working peasantry in building the socialist society.

A powerful and highly developed industry was built in the U.S.S.R. Collectivization transformed agriculture from small and backward farming into large-scale, advanced socialist agriculture, equipped with first-class technique.

During the period of the Stalin five-year plans the exploiting elements were completely liquidated and the exploitation of man by man abolished forever. For the first time in history there was built a new social system—Socialism, where society is made up of the working

people of town and countryside—of workers, peasants and the people's intelligentsia.

With the victory of Socialism the material welfare of the industrial workers, collective farmers and office employees improved immeasurably. The sweeping development of the entire national economy did away with unemployment in the U.S.S.R., with the poverty and ruin of the peasantry in the countryside.

A cultural revolution was carried out. •

Thanks to the correct policy of the Communist Party, the conscious, intensive effort of the working class, collective-farm peasantry and Soviet intelligentsia, our country grew into a mighty socialist industrial and kol-khoz power.

The Party and the Soviet state equipped the country's armed forces with modern military technique and prepared our country for active defence.





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